READY SOON—BOUND VOLUMES of HUMAN EVENTS for July-December, 1961. Reserve your copy Now and Save $5.50 by taking advantage of the pre-publication price of $9.50. These indexed library volumes will go up to $15 after publication.

Human Events YOUR WASHINGTON SERVICE

Vol. XIX, No. 5 February 3, 1962 Section I — News

JFK: *Drops his "moderate" mask* .....(71)

HEARINGS: *Top brass routs the muzzlers* ....(71)

THURMOND: *Speaks out on New Frontier* (72)

FREEMAN: *Brainwashing in the cornfields* (72)

BUDGET: *Where will the dough go?* .....(74)

Black Wednesday: If President Kennedy had definitely decided on a "moderate" or "middle-of-the-road" image for himself this session, he must have forgotten such an intention last week. Or—as suggested previously in HUMAN EVENTS—he may have deemed the support of leftist forces more important to his political plans. At any rate, on January 24 (Will it be called "Black Wednesday"?), JFK for one reason or another assumed a posture more pleasing to "extremists" of the Left than to those of the Right by doing the following:

(1) Irked by the House Rules Committee's rejection of his proposal for a new Cabinet post—a Department of Urban Affairs and Housing—the President will go about his spending plan in another way. He will send it to Congress as a plan for "reorganization" of the Executive and will dare Congressmen to veto it (as they have a right to do). The new Department is designed to tap a great volume of city support and is, besides, a yawning catchall for enormous spending projects with dangerous inflationary consequences. The Communist *Worker* likes it and so do the wild spenders and socialists. Conservatives will oppose it strongly.

Since the President also promised to name Robert C. Weaver, present Administrator of the Housing and Home Finance Agency, a Negro, as the new Cabinet Secretary in charge of it, Southern Democrats will scarcely rally to it enthusiastically. A parliamentary battle royal may ensue, with imponderable effects on the whole session. In any case, this move makes JFK look more like a "left-wing extremist" than a "moderate."

(2) On the same day, JFK rose to the defense of a State Department official, William A. Wieland, endorsing his security record. This record had been aired in hearings of the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, with four former US Ambassadors showing little esteem for said official's role in our policy on Cuba. One veteran news observer remarked: "The President's endorsement of this official is reminiscent of Harry Truman 12 years ago when his critics raised the internal subversion issue; Harry retorted, 'Just a red herring.'" Here the JFK record looks "soft on communism."

(3) Finally, JFK's Secretary of Defense, McNamara, undoubtedly in line with the President's stand, refused to allow Pentagon officials testifying before the Stennis subcommittee to reveal names of government officials who act as censors to delete from speeches of military men remarks condemning communism and Soviet Russia. Again, in this instance, the "soft on communism" image looms above JFK, particularly in view of Senator Thurmond's charge two days before that JFK's advisers are "dominated" by left-of-center opinion.

Capitol Hill's summation: Whether the President and his Administration win or lose in the ensuing congressional conflicts, it's going to be difficult for him to present himself as a "moderate" and a "tough on communism" protagonist when the dust of battle settles before the fall elections..

Muzzling Hearings: Few doubt that the hand of the Stennis subcommittee investigating military muzzling was considerably strengthened last week by former President Eisenhower's statement. In calling for adequate troop indoctrination regarding communism and rejecting efforts to place military officers "behind an Iron Curtain of censorship," the former Chief Executive boosted prospects of the hearings' success.

Eisenhower's statement said that there should be no restriction to public access to reliable information on the Red menace and that there was no danger of overinforming Americans on this matter. "Rather," Ike added, "we should be watchful of any tendency to withhold reliable information . . ."

This had the liberals in the State and Defense Departments on the defensive, because it was a direct solar-plexus punch at their beloved Fulbright memorandum. In it Fulbright stated that military officers should not be speaking out at anti-communism seminars, that too much emphasis was being placed on speaking out against communism and that the American people had no need to be alerted to the Communist menace.

Copyright 1962 by HUMAN EVENTS

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Ike's message had the same tone as that delivered in person by former Chief of Naval Operations Arleigh Burke. Admiral Burke spoke of the moral obligation of military officers to acquaint their men with their American heritage and the Communist conspiracy. He called for adequate information programs in all the armed services. Lieutenant General Arthur Trudeau, the Army's Chief of Research and Development, told the subcommittee that the State Department had ordered changes in his speeches which gave him "cause for wonder about the motivation involved."

Trudeau made it clear to the Senate investigators that he felt the State Department is way off base in its censoring policies. He cited deletions from his speeches such as "I believe that if we surrender certain of our rights today, then inevitably, and soon, we shall lose what rights remain."

Trudeau told the subcommittee: "If it is anathema in this country to stand firmly against communism . . . let's know just what we stand for." Impressed with Trudeau's presentation, Chairman Stennis has assured his colleagues that State officials would be called to explain their censorship policies.

Punta Del Este: The failure of Rusk and the US delegation to get what they went for (decisive collective action against Castro), at the Organization of American States conference in Punta Del Este, does not surprise observers along Diplomatic Row. The State Department, it is noted, has sent as its representatives policy makers who are woefully ignorant of Latin American affairs.

Among those at the conference is 30-year-old Richard N. Goodwin, Deputy Assistant Secretary for Inter-American Affairs, who had never been south of the border or spoken Spanish before 1960. Others include ADA'er Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., himself no Latin American expert, and Walt Whitman Rostow, chief of State's Policy Planning Council, who not only has no previous experience in Latin America, but has said the US should "reduce exhortations" on our allies to fight communism.

Trip Abroad: Attorney General Robert Kennedy's global goodwill and fact-finding trip starting February 2 is receiving sharp criticism from career diplomats who feel this is a job for which the Attorney General is ill-equipped. It is recalled in some quarters that the Attorney General is so uninformed about foreign affairs that last year, over a Los Angeles TV program, he remarked that he had never heard of the famous Connally Reservation which gives the US the right to determine what international disputes in which it is involved will go before the World Court.

• The Soviet Union's bid to Kennedy to visit Moscow (turned down by the Attorney General) has revealed once again that certain State Department elements are planning a *rapprochement* with Khrushchev.

According to the January 21 New York *Times*, the Attorney General, on advice from State, was seriously considering going to Moscow because of State's belief that Khrushchev is being pressed by "extremists" within his own government and needs to be supported. "The problem confronting the Administration," according to the *Times*, is "whether to . . . bolster Mr. Khrushchev inside the Communist world by lending credence to his arguments" that he "can do business" with President Kennedy.

Thurmond on the Attack: Few can remember a stronger salvo fired at an Administration by a lawmaker of the same party than the blast South Carolina's Democratic Senator Strom Thurmond let go at the New Frontier last week.

Thurmond stated that, although Kennedy is personally popular with many people because they like him and his family, this isn't helping the country in terms of the decisions that mold history. Here Thurmond finds Kennedy in sad shape. "The President's advisors," the South Carolinian said, "are dominated by shades of opinion to the left of center, differing only in degree. Unfortunately, the President doesn't get the well-rounded viewpoints so important in making sound judgments in this critical period of history."

To illustrate, Thurmond pointed out the now well-known fact that 37 members of the Americans for Democratic Action (ADA) hold key Administration posts. Thurmond added that "this number does not include more officials who share the ADA radical outlook but who have not joined ADA for various reasons." Southerner Thurmond harpooned the New Frontier by suggesting Kennedy "integrate some right wingers into his all left-wing claque."

"On the domestic front, I am not aware of many Administration advocates of sound, conservative fiscal policies or defenders of the rights of state or local governments. In his State of the Union message, the President proposed aid—and with aid must go a certain amount of control—for practically every aspect of life. He said we must provide for the future of our young people. My talks to and with young people in the past few years convince me, however, that most of our young people are more concerned with preserving opportunity, liberty and fiscal integrity."

Administration Brainwashing: News of an unblushing move by one of JFK's Cabinet members to institute brainwashing among the farmers stirred the Capital last week. The AP (January 21, New York *Herald Tribune*) reported that the Federal Extension Service "is being asked by the Kennedy Administration to enter the political arena to help shape future farm policies and programs. The request was made by Secretary of Agriculture Freeman"—under whom the service operates.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Traditionally, the Extension Service has studiously avoided any political role or entanglement. But this bald attempt to brainwash the rural community has been predicted since Secretary Freeman unveiled his "Socialist Strait Jacket" farm program a year ago (which Congress rejected). In the HUMAN EVENTS article "Freeman's Farm Program," May 12, 1961, which had much to do with congressional rejection of Freeman's scheme, it was predicted that the Extension Service would eventually be used by the federal government for propaganda aims. Now it is official. The Service has about 14,000 employes, scattered in a key network throughout the country, and these agents supervise the activities of many thousands of auxiliary "volunteers" in every county of the nation.

News of this astonishing move provoked discussion on Capitol Hill in relation to the brainwashing techniques of an Administration that pretends to a "moderate" guise, while belaboring "extremists of the Right." It is recalled that GOP Chairman Miller in an article in *Editor & Publisher* (trade organ of the newspaper world) referred to the Administration's "crass" attempts to use press people as "propaganda pipelines." Miller said that "under news management—Kennedy-style . . . the news media suffer, but the greatest loss is borne by individual Americans who find themselves on the receiving end of something less than the whole truth."

"Their right to know is being cruelly eroded and will continue to be until this Administration comes to regard information as a public trust rather than a political puff operation."

Capitol Hill, however, while recognizing that Administration brainwashing has advanced far, perceives a growing counterforce. It appears among the students of the country, many of whom may be of the "conservative youth movement" and it reacts not only against federal government brainwashing, but also against brainwashing on academic and state levels. In the New York *Times* on January 21, Dr. C. H. McClelland, a California educator, after an extensive survey of student reactions, is quoted as saying: "Students are scared to death of brainwashing. They suspect they are being manipulated, especially in international affairs, whether it is professors, the textbook, the state government, newspapers or television and radio."

What Price the Dollar?: Behind the Administration's confused moves on the budget, trade, debt, taxes, etc., lies a shadow to which its leaders must make some gestures (however transparent) resembling a desire for "fiscal solvency." This attitude by the Administration arises from a fear which its own propaganda seeks to conceal. This propaganda is designed to give the impression that the gold problem—acute in the final months of 1960—today is alleviated and faces a sunny road ahead.

But top economic experts of the Eisenhower regime—men whose scholarly record and aloofness from partisan politics have marked their careers—think quite otherwise. Maurice Stans, Ike's last Budget Director, last week in a widely syndicated article appearing in the liberal Washington *Post* declared: "The greatest threat to our nation today is not Berlin. Nor is it Vietnam or the Congo or Laos. It is the precarious situation of our balance of international payments and with it the potential erosion of world confidence in the dollar." Stans pointed out that this situation is not getting better.

"The deficit," he remarked, "in the balance of payments for the second half of 1961 *was again at the rate of* $3 *billion a year and for all of* 1961 *would have been close to* $2.5 *billion except for the non-recurring German debt payment. There are no present reasons to expect that* 1962 *will be better. The claims against our gold will grow."*

Another voice of caution is that of Dr. Raymond Saulnier, who is just as foreboding and emphatic. Saulnier from 1957 through 1960 served under Eisenhower as Chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisers. As a man who had much to do with shaping the Executive's economic policy in those years, Saulnier's views today deserve notice (although no newspaper reported them). Speaking to the American Statistical Association in New York on December 29, 1961, Saulnier—in discussing economic prospects for 1962—emphasized the problem of the balance of international payments.

"We could look," he said, "for an improvement [of this problem] in 1960, but this is not the case in 1962. On the contrary, it looks as though a combination of rising imports and a failure of exports to rise much, if any, over their present level, will cut our net export balance in 1962 possibly by as much as $1.5 billion. This would give us a balance of payments deficits of from $2 to $2.5 billion, which is substantially higher than we have sustained in the present year [1961]. *One forecast of which I can be absolutely certain is that the balance of international payments will be our central policy problem in* 1962." (Our emphasis.)

UN Bond Issue: Criticism mounts against the Administration's plan to have Congress approve US government purchase of $100 million worth of UN bonds. Some of the most telling points against US buying of the bonds come from a liberal Republican, Representative John F. Baldwin of California.

Baldwin has only a 45 per cent Americans for Constitutional Action rating and, like another bond critic, Vermont's GOP Senator George Aiken, has been a longtime supporter of the UN. Says Baldwin:

CHARLES E. BOINEAU, Republican Representative in the South Carolina General Assembly: "If I could point to any single factor that made my election possible last August, it would be my attendance at the HUMAN EVENTS Political Action Conference in July."

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"It seems to me that if the United States were to buy $100 million of UN bonds to make up this Congo deficit, we would indirectly be making a loan of $20,088,253 to Soviet Russia at a subsidized interest rate."

The California Congressman reasons this is so because "we would be making up a deficit caused in part by failure of Soviet Russia to pay its $20,088,253 assessment." In addition, says Baldwin, "we would be buying UN bonds paying only 2 per cent interest, but to raise the funds to buy these bonds the United States would have to increase our national debt as we are currently operating at a deficit. The United States has to pay over 3 per cent in interest on our national debt."

"For the above reasons," says Baldwin, "I plan to vote against the proposal that the United States buy $100 million in United Nations bonds."

The Alarming Budget: Some members of Congress, recalling former Treasury Secretary George M. Humphrey's warning in 1958 that unless big government spending was curbed "you will have a depression that will curl your hair," are updating that remark to cover the possibility that soon there may not be any hair left to curl.

The Kennedy explanation of the $92.5 billion which he proposes to spend places—in the accepted bureaucratic tradition—the best possible face on the huge spending plans. A sample of this is an official chart purporting to show where the billions will go. For nine out of ten citizens it is much easier to look at a chart than to struggle through the dry and voluminous details of the printed budget. The chart in question shows that 63 cents of every dollar to be spent will go for "national defense, international and space." This gives to hasty lookers the impression that $63 billion will be spent for national defense, which everybody wants, and for closely related purposes.

But questions are raised as to how close some of these lumped items are to national defense. The chart's total for the military services is "only" $48.3 billion. The "national defense, etc.," total also includes $1.4 billion for military aid abroad, $2.88 billion for atomic programs, $2.996 billion for economic aid abroad and $2.4 billion for space research.

Questions being raised here: Is space activity, aiming (according to Kennedy) at eventually putting a man on the moon, really a part of national defense? Is economic aid to other nations, including Latin America, honestly a military or a social project?

The strictly domestic items in the budget, including federal handouts, show a monotonously rising trend, smothering any hope that the Kennedy philosophy might contain some small intention of halting the paternalistic trend of Washington, the gradual erosion by federal power of state and local activity and responsibility.

Indignation Rallies: On January 20, the National Indignation Convention (NIC) sponsored a program of 72 rallies held simultaneously in 34 states. The rallies, reportedly attended by 30,000 persons, were connected by a telephone-loudspeaker system with its nerve center in Dallas. More than 100 radio stations carried the program. These meetings resulted from a continuing interest in stopping the training of Communist Yugoslavian fighter pilots in the US and the sale of goods to Communist-dominated countries.

Former Major General Edwin A. Walker attacked the muzzling of the military and trade with Communist countries. He attacked JFK's attachment to the UN saying: "The United Nations Building is our Tower of Babel. The nations there do not speak the same language even with the best of translators."

NIC plans a meeting of their Congressional District Representatives in the Washington, D. C., area in the middle of next month.

Capitol Camera: Senator Harry Byrd (D.-Va.), upon returning from a round-the-world tour, had this piece of news which seems to have missed the papers: "We have just agreed to write off nearly $2 billion aid to Japan for about 25 cents on the dollar. I recently visited Japan at my own expense. Her progress has been amazing. She could pay what she owes us in full."

• *Observers note an interesting switch in roles inside the GOP. In recent years, the National Committee Chairman followed a somewhat liberal or cautious role, while the congressional leaders pursued a tougher, more conservative path. Today, GOP National Chairman Miller takes a more militant and right-wing policy and the congressional leaders (Dirksen and Halleck) play it milder. However, both forces reportedly will join in a conservative party policy statement reminiscent of the "victory" program framed by Congress and endorsed by Ike in* 1952.

• Representative William E. Miller on the failure of Robert Kennedy to enforce a legal crackdown against the Communist Party: "This failure to move promptly is entirely consistent with the Attorney General's delay in fulfilling his promise to bring James Hoffa to justice. This Administration's trademark is words, not action."

Published weekly at 410 First Street, S. E., Washington 3, D. C. **TRIAL SUBSCRIPTIONS:** 5 weeks $1. Yearly rate $12.50; 6 months $6.50; 3 months $3.50. Second-class postage paid at Washington, D. C.

For change of address send old address **EXACTLY AS IT APPEARS** on the envelope of your copy of HUMAN EVENTS and new address (with zone number, if any). **ALLOW US TWO WEEKS** to process new subscriptions and change of address.

Bound Volume indexed: January — June, 1961, $15. 1956 and 1960 Bound Volumes, $20. Dateline Washington: The Best of HUMAN EVENTS, 1955 — 1960, $15.

Frank C. Hanighen, *Editor and Publisher* James L. Wick, *Executive Publisher*
Assistant Publishers: W. B. Hicks, Jr. Kenneth W. Ingwalson
Labor Editor: Fred W. Perkins
Assistant Editors
Svend Petersen George O. Fowler Allan H. Ryskind
Bruce R. Barr Neil Phelps-Munson John R. Moreau
Thomas S. Winter James E. Bacon, Jr.
C. L. Alexander Jerome Sherrill A. Backer
Contributing Editors: Frank Chodorov Edna Lonigan

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Bound Volume of Human Events

Six Month Edition—July thru December, 1961

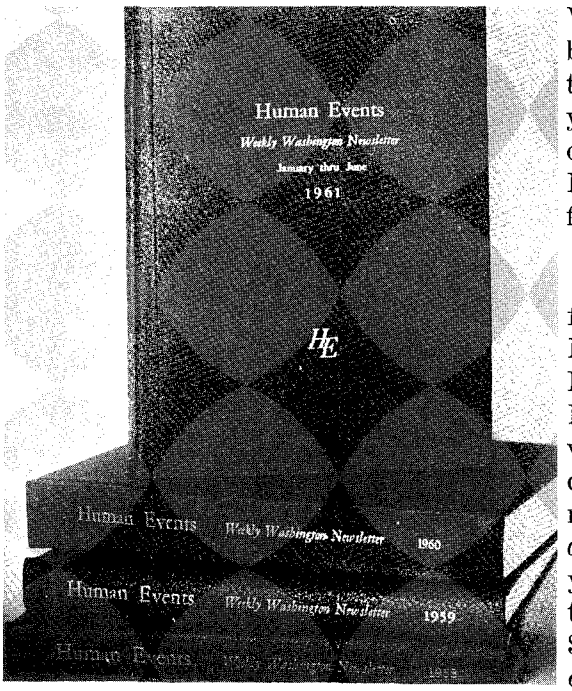
Pre-Publication Price—$9.50

After February 28—$15

HUMAN EVENTS is now publishing twice as many pages as one and one-half years ago. Where we were once able to bind a full year of HUMAN EVENTS in one volume, we are now forced, due to size and cost, to publish two semi-annual editions of this popular reference piece.

Each six-month volume contains the entire collection of approximately 420 pages that appear in HUMAN EVENTS during that period. In addition, there are about 20 pages of cross-index (compiled by the Decker & Baker Indexing Service), and the Table of Contents.

Covered with beautiful blue Fabrikoid cloth, printed with gold-leaf lettering and bound by Washington's most expert quality craftsmen, the volume will be a handsome addition to your collection of the best in conservative literature.



Costs prohibit us from printing more than a limited quantity of these books. Usually they are sold out before the next edition is ready for binding. THERE CAN BE NO REPRINTING OF THE VOLUME. Once sold, there will be no more. To insure the continuity of HUMAN EVENTS in your library, you must place an order to reserve your copy TODAY. Orders will be filled on a first-come, first-served basis.

To encourage EARLY orders for this Bound Volume, HUMAN EVENTS makes this special offer: If you order your copy before February 28, you can take advantage of the special pre-publication price of $9.50. You need not pay now. We will bill you *after* you receive the book, if you wish. After February 28, the price of this volume will be $15. You save $5.50—*more than one-third*—by ordering now!

To reserve your copy TODAY, use this order blank. Check the appropriate box, fill in your name and address, and return it to us immediately. YOU NEED NOT PAY UNTIL AFTER YOU HAVE RECEIVED YOUR BOUND VOLUME. Delivery about February 28th.

ORDER BLANK

HUMAN EVENTS 410 First Street, S. E., Wash. 3, D. C.

☐ Send me the HUMAN EVENTS BOUND VOLUME for July through December, 1961, as soon as it is available.

Also send HUMAN EVENTS BOUND VOLUME:

☐ January thru June, 1961—$15
☐ 1960—$20 ☐ 1956—$20

☐ Payment enclosed ☐ Bill me
☐ Bill My Company

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ Zone ____ State _____

COPYRIGHT 1962 by HUMAN EVENTS

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Washington Reaches for Your City Hall

Copyright 1961—Reprinted from the November, 1961, Issue of Nation's Business

CONTROL of city governments could move to Washington if Congress votes to establish a Department of Urban Affairs and Housing.

It's likely your city would then be less responsive to your individual needs. You would lose personal contact with the level of government which affects you most.

The new cabinet-level agency is recommended by the Kennedy Administration, strongly backed by city officials and, among others, the AFL-CIO.

By establishing a direct line of communication from the mayor's office to the center of the Federal government, it would soon become the most powerful and expensive cabinet post. The authority of governors, state legislatures and other local levels of government would be demolished.

Although the backers of the proposed department put most of their stress publicly on the need for Federal "coordination," "planning" and "research," they have in recent years been in the forefront of every fight to enlarge present Federal welfare programs—housing, urban renewal, community facilities, water treatment plants, airports, schools.

They've battled vigorously to get Uncle Sam deeply involved in dozens of new areas; helping depressed communities, combating juvenile delinquency, expanding public health facilities, modernizing and renovating hospitals, subsidizing commuter facilities, acquiring park lands. They've suggested the Federal government take on such other chores as helping cities to relocate industry, planning public works, fire prevention, even snow removal.

Opponents of the new department put its real purpose bluntly: to pressure within the Administration, with Congress, and with the public for big new spending programs the cities have long wanted.

Most Expensive Department

"To say that the bill merely conveys status to the present housing agency without transferring any functions in or out of the agency," say five Republican members of the House Government Operations Committee, "only describes the first step of the long-range strategy—a strategy apparently designed to bring the solution of the day-to-day problems of community life under the direction of centralized government."

Declares a minority report by two Southern Democrats and two Republicans on the Senate Government Operations Committee: "A department of government which will carry out the functions envisioned by the supporters of (this) plan will be the most powerful cabinet post—and it will be the most expensive."

The fight for the Department of Urban Affairs has been gathering momentum in recent years. President Eisenhower resisted it, warning that "nothing is really solved, and ruinous tendencies are set in motion, by yielding to the deceptive bait of the easy Federal tax dollar."

But the 1960 Democratic platform and Democratic Presidential candidate John F. Kennedy made the Department of Urban Affairs a key campaign promise.

Second Thoughts

Shortly after Mr. Kennedy's election, some of his advisers started having second thoughts on the idea, and wished the Administration weren't committed quite so firmly, but it was too late —particularly in view of the way the big-city leaders had delivered votes. The Administration last spring recommended the plan, the two Government Operations Committees held hearings, and both approved the measure. It is ready for floor action in both Senate and House.

THE PROPOSED BILL would set up a new "Department of Urban Affairs and Housing." It would immediately absorb the Federal Housing and Home Finance Agency, including the Public Housing Administration, Federal Housing Administration, Urban Renewal Administration, Community Facilities Administration and Federal National Mortgage Association.

In addition to administering these existing housing programs, the new department would be directed to study and advise the President on new problems in housing and urban development, provide technical assistance to states and cities, encourage comprehensive state and local planning on community development, and coordinate Federal, state and local programs for urban aid.

Slight Cross Fire

The bill has been caught in a slight cross fire because all indications are that President Kennedy intends to appoint as Secretary of the new department his present Administrator of the Housing and Home Finance Agency, Robert C. Weaver. Mr. Weaver would thus become the first Negro cabinet member, and this prospect has obliged some Southerners who might ordinarily have supported the new department to oppose it. At the same time this prospect has brought support for the bill from some Republicans who might otherwise have opposed the department but now fear being placed in an anti-civil-rights position. Unless its opponents rally between now and the time the bill will be voted on in early 1962, the odds strongly favor its enactment.

Establishment of the new department would climax a trend that has been growing steadily in recent years—a trend of cities turning to Washington for financial help.

City officials claim this is the natural result of the nation's increasing urbanization. Today,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

they point out, some 70 per cent of all Americans live in about 200 metropolitan areas, and practically all future US population growth is expected to be in urban areas. These new metropolitan areas, they continue, expand rapidly across city, county and state lines. Their needs for new and enlarged local services outstrip the availability of local taxes, the argument goes.

So they turn to the states, and what do they find? According to city officials, they find a legislature whose membership was set back in the days when the states were predominantly rural rather than urban areas.

Even where the states are sympathetic, the cities say, they have run out of resources or lack the power to do anything for metropolitan areas that cut across state boundaries.

So the answer is to turn to the Federal government.

SPONSORS of the bill suggest that all they want for the cities is the same sort of representation other groups already get. They say the Agriculture Department represents the farmers, the Commerce Department represents business, the Labor Department represents workers, but no one represents the city dwellers.

Over and over they promise that the only purpose is to coordinate and help plan. "No new programs would be established by the bill, nor would existing provisions of substantive law be altered," the official Senate report on the bill goes out of its way to proclaim.

"There is considerable research being carried on today," asserts Mayor Richard Daley of Chicago, "but such studies are made in bits and pieces. The results are often not widely publicized, and a Federal department could not only develop its own program of essential information but would have channels available to distribute basic research studies to city, county and state officials."

Declares Senator Joseph S. Clark, Pennsylvania Democrat and Senate sponsor of the new department: "State or city officials with complaints will have someone to whom to turn. A local official with an inquiry will be able to get one-stop service instead of being bucked around from one Federal agency to another."

Not only do the bill's sponsors protest their innocence of new spending aims; they assert it will make things more efficient and even more economical.

Senator Kenneth B. Keating, New York Republican, another sponsor, argues: "The creation of a new department to deal with urban problems does not necessarily mean the Federal government is going to spend more money. By bringing together under one department a number of separate agencies that now, in many cases, overlap, we may actually be able to realize considerable savings."

Opponents Are Skeptical

But opponents remain skeptical. They point to the past history of new departments, which rapidly become advocates and lobbyists within the government for the groups they represent —the Agriculture Department fighting for bigger farm spending; the Labor Department pushing for more spending for workers; the Department of Health, Education and Welfare constantly supporting enlarged outlays in its areas. Appropriations for the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, the newest cabinet post, have jumped from something under $2 billion in the year ended June 30, 1953, to more than $3.8 billion in the year ended June 30, 1961, while civilian employment in the agency has climbed from some 36,600 workers to almost 63,200.

It's far more than history and normal bureaucratic trends that worry the opponents of the Department of Urban Affairs. They're more concerned over the records of the chief backers of the new department.

THE TWO MAIN SPONSORS—the American Municipal Association and the US Conference of Mayors—in 1960 asked the Democratic and Republican nominating conventions to adopt urban affairs planks "endorsing the principle of Federal grants-in-aid as an appropriate method through which the national government with its broadly-based tax resources can fulfill its duties and obligations in helping local governments."

Specifically, the proposed plank called for Federal-city cooperation on "urban renewal, highways, mass transit, airports, water supply, air pollution, juvenile delinquency, hospital construction, atomic energy, civil defense, area redevelopment, payments in lieu of taxes and public works."

In almost every bill considered by Congress during 1961 in the welfare field, these groups fought for enlarged programs. For example, they called for a five-year program of $100 million a year for airport help, with the administrator having far more leeway in the type of projects to be helped. The previous program was $63 million a year. Congress authorized a new program of $75 million a year for three years.

The National Housing Conference urged that $1 billion a year be voted indefinitely for urban renewal; Congress actually voted $2 billion for a three- to five-year period.

Congress authorized $75 million of aid for commuter facilities and $50 million of Federal help for cities to acquire open spaces for parks, recreation, conservation and scenic areas; the urban groups suggested a $500 million, ten-year program of transportation help and a $500 million, five-year program of open space support.

City officials urged not only continued and enlarged aid for new hospital construction but a $150 million annual program to modernize and renovate older hospitals. The municipal groups led a successful fight for more than double past Federal spending for community health services and facilities.

Advocates of the Urban Affairs Department have supported new programs of Federal spending—some large, some small—to combat air pol-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

lution, provide special housing for minority group members, build arterial streets, construct libraries and cultural facilities, subsidize public works planning and help in locating and relocating industry.

The International Association of Fire Fighters even argued that "fire prevention in this day and age is no longer solely a matter of local concern, but is a serious national problem," and urged the Federal government to provide technical assistance and planning aid to local communities in this field, help standardize equipment and appliances and promote regional and interstate cooperation among fire departments.

Need To Cut Deficit

"There is a steady stream of pious protestations in government," says the Senate minority report, "that we need to cut down the deficit and the public debt, but we will, in one sweeping gesture, create a Goliath which will drain our Treasury and which will keep a watchful police eye on every urban community and its citizens, planning, spending, directing, until citizens will not call City Hall when streets need repair or a water main needs replacing, but will notify their congressman to contact the cabinet member handling such problems, seeking repairs and services."

Establishment of the Urban Affairs Department, opponents predict, will encourage groups pushing other new departments to lobby for their interests within the government. Bills already are pending to set up a dozen other new cabinet posts, ranging from a Department of Transportation and a Department of Science to a Department of Peace and even a Department of Public Relations.

OPPONENTS use other powerful arguments, too. To the contention of the bill's backers that they want "coordination," the opponents point out that two Federal agencies contributing from half to two-thirds of all residential mortgage financing are omitted from the new department —the Home Loan Bank Board and the Veterans Administration. The bill's critics suggest these have been deliberately omitted for the time being to avoid stirring up opposition from veterans and housing groups, but that once the bill is passed, the new agency will grab for them. The same argument is made about many other programs which logically could be expected to go into the new department but which are being left for the present in other agencies.

Thus, while the sponsors proclaim they want to give city officials "one-stop service" in Washington, they've carefully left in existing departments a long list of urban programs ranging from roads and airports to schools and water pollution treatment facilities.

The bill's backers have for the most part been carefully guarded in public about programs that might later be transferred to the new department, but every once in a while some clues are dropped. Thus Representative J. Arthur Younger, the California Republican who was one of the department's first proponents, told the House Government Operations Committee that he thought such programs as helping cities to fight smog and polluted water "would be included, normally" in an Urban Affairs Department, and that aid for education "could well be transferred to this new department."

When the bill's adherents argue that cities deserve cabinet representation, opponents counter that other cabinet members such as the Attorney General, Secretary of Labor, Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare and others already serve urban interests, and that this new department would be the first set up on geographic rather than functional lines.

They suggest that cities should use the facilities of existing departments and, if something more is needed, it could be provided by a coordinating official in the Budget Bureau or White House —without any huge new bureaucracy set up to lobby for new spending. Cities can do far more to help themselves solve what are and must remain primarily local problems.

Finally, opponents make a major stand on the argument that the new department would undermine the traditional American federal system. Cities, they say, would turn more and more to the central government, by-passing state and other local units. These would atrophy, and ultimately the cities themselves would be swallowed up by the central government.

"A powerful cabinet department of this type would tend to weaken existing relationships between the states and their political subdivisions and would materially accelerate the dependency of local government upon the national government," the Executive Committee of the Governors' Conference declared in opposing the proposed new department.

Said the National Association of County Officials: "We feel establishment of such a department may well empower large metropolitan cities to deal directly with the Federal government, by-passing not only the states but local communities as well. . . . Those of us at the local government level have grave concern that the proposed department, once set up, might strengthen the hand of the metropolitan core city to the extent it would be in a position, because of its close association with the Federal government, to dominate other local municipalities which operate contiguously to or within the periphery of the core city's metropolitan area."

The Senate minority report warns that "a line of communications will be set up directly from the city mayor's office to the center of the Federal government. County commissioners, state legislatures, governors will be ignored." And as for the cities themselves, "If Washington pays the bill, Washington will direct the action. . . . More than hopscotching over state and county government, this new department can eventually nullify local city government."

Exclusive rights to the sale of reprints to this article belong to Nation's Business, *1615 H Street, N. W., Washington 6, D. C. HUMAN EVENTS cannot furnish reprints of this article.*

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Vol. XIX, No. 5—Section III HUMAN EVENTS February 3, 1962

Arkansas' Senator Fulbright

'He Keeps Seeing Patriots Under the Bed'

By WILLARD EDWARDS

Capitol Hill Correspondent, Chicago *Tribune*

IN ONE OF THOSE secluded chambers under the Capitol dome known as hideaways, where Senators gather to discuss the State of the Union and themselves over tobacco and potables, a group was recently engaged in the happy pastime of carving up absent colleagues.

The discussion turned to the traits, personality, motivation and baffling characteristics of the junior Senator from Arkansas, James William Fulbright, Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee.

Fulbright rarely attends such gatherings, where important legislative business is often transacted. After 17 years in the Senate, he finds himself ill at ease with many of his political brethren, unable to conceal a distaste for their crudities.

This aversion is particularly marked in regard to certain members of the Southern contingent with whom, at times, he is forced to vote because of bitter political necessity. Fulbright has been known to wax sarcastic over the colloquial speech of Dixiecrats who have not, like himself, had the gentling influence of an Oxford education.

There was, thus, a tinge of malice in some of the remarks about Fulbright thrown out at the gathering. But he had defenders present and the conversation developed into an analysis of Fulbright's obsessions and prejudices, his successes and his setbacks, which shed revealing light on his strange career.

The Senator who knew him best and longest finally summed up the debate on a note of forgiveness. "The main trouble with Bill Fulbright," he remarked, "is that he keeps seeing patriots under the bed."

It was a wisecrack on which the group broke up, chuckling over the picture of Fulbright peering suspiciously in dark corners for misguided Americans who talk about flag and country. Like many such witticisms, it contained a hard kernel of truth. Fulbright has been alarmed about the menace of patriotism since he first came to Congress nearly two decades ago.

But there are other fears in this moody man of 56 who sometimes subsides into fits of deep despair over the futility of trying to accomplish anything in the face of the American people's invincible ignorance and resistance to his cherished theories.

• He dreads the concept of "national sovereignty," which he has termed a "devilish" phrase, destructive of advancement toward a united world.

• He distrusts the "hobbling restrictions" of the United States Constitution which he finds hopelessly antiquated and in need of basic changes to cope with 20th Century problems.

• He hates the dangerous tendency of the common man to hit back at an enemy who has injured him.

• He has both contempt and fear of military leaders who would teach their troops and the public something about the menace of the Communist conspiracy in the simple belief that the way to fight a Cold War with Russia is to fight it.

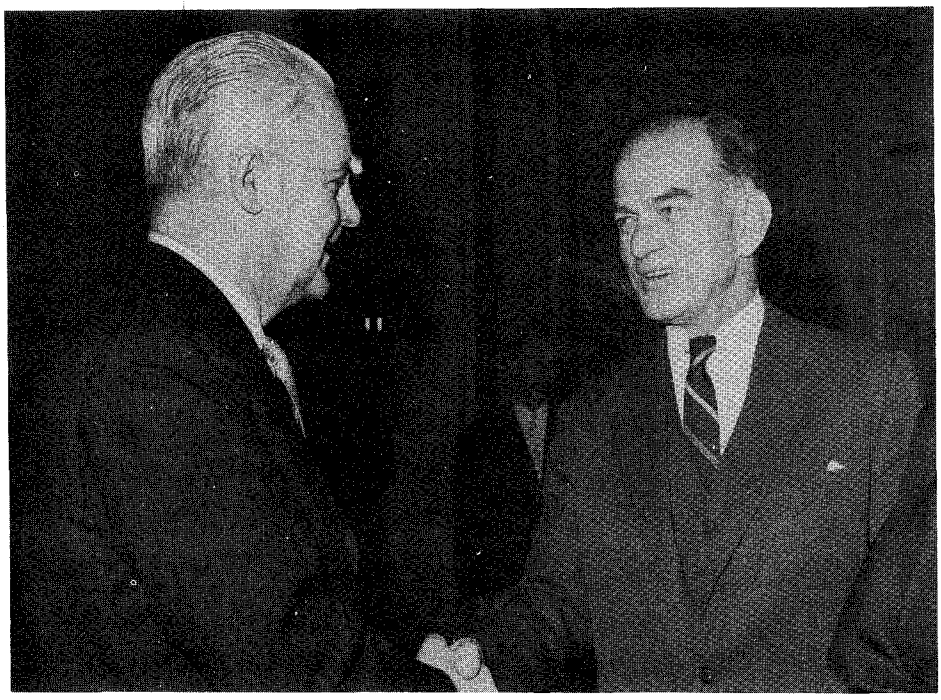
• He feels unsafe in a country where the President is hampered by a Congress which sometimes too closely reflects public sentiment. The President, Fulbright said last summer, "alone can rise above parochialism and private pressures."

"He alone," Fulbright continued in a revealing rhapsody, "can hope to overcome the excesses and inadequacies of a public opinion that is all too ignorant of the needs, the dangers, and the opportunities in our foreign relations."

There are many complexes in this harassed intellectual—indicative of a basic insecurity which would delight a probing psychiatrist. He has been dubbed by a friendly New York *Times* writer "an introspective internationalist . . . a man of the Adlai E. Stevenson mold," inclined to brood about his failures, occasionally bursting out in "acidulous attack" on the subjects of his displeasure.

The comparison to Stevenson has some validity for the two share a common viewpoint on many issues. But where Adlai is stirred to an almost maudlin sorrow over the treacherous impulses which lead men astray, Fulbright is moved to irritation and contempt by the stupidity which he sees encircling him.

ONE EXAMPLE of his invective under such circumstances will suffice. In a Senate speech in 1954, in high dudgeon because a great body of public opinion supported the Bricker Amendment to limit the



Senator and Mrs. Fulbright were among those who went to the Soviet Embassy farewell party for Russian Ambassador Mikhail Menshikov on December 29, 1961. This photograph shows the Arkansas Democrat shaking hands with Menshikov. Significantly, there were a number of invited senators and representatives who refused to attend.

COPYRIGHT 1962 by HUMAN EVENTS

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

application of the treaty power, he presented the appearance of a man close to hysterical anger.

Supporters of the Bricker Amendment, he declared, were afflicted with "the swinish blight . . . of anti-intellectualism." He said they appealed to passion instead of reason; they descended to the low level of personalities; they used epithets as the last refuge of the mentally insecure and the intellectually bankrupt; they resorted to abuse and were "boors," "liars," "louts" and—the crowning insult—"anti-democratic."

The frustration which frequently swells in Fulbright may be partially traced to the need for occasional voting in the Senate in accord with the sentiments of the Arkansas voters who sent him there.

This has caused him acute discomfort because, as the New York *Times* phrased it, "he has suffered the scorn of his former Liberal admirers who felt betrayed by his failure to speak out against the extremist attitude of Governor Orval E. Faubus."

The cold, hard realities of political security dictate that Fulbright vote on "civil rights" questions as his constituents would want him to vote if he is to retain his coveted post. He has never hesitated to sacrifice principle to position.

Fulbright lines up on such issues with members of the Southern bloc with whom he has little in common.

"When he votes with us," a Dixiecrat remarked, "I always feel a little uncomfortable. I can almost feel his inner anguish."

HE EVEN DESCENDS, when necessary, to political levels far removed from the rarefied atmosphere of international affairs. One such incident was exposed in 1951.

As head of the Senate's investigation of favoritism and influence in the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, Fulbright had frequently issued wrathful denunciations of RFC loans to swank hotels in Florida and Nevada. Such loans, he declared, were not in the public interest.

Unhappily, it developed that Fulbright in 1948 had used his influence as a Senator to urge quick action on a $500,000 RFC loan for a Hot Springs, Arkansas, hotel. The loan was quickly approved after Fulbright wrote to the RFC, asking for its "facilitation" and referring to the hotel as one of the "finest" in Hot Springs.

"Nothing improper!" barked Fulbright when asked for an explanation. The episode was soon forgotten in an era when great scandals clamored for recognition. It was, after all, only a demonstration that Senators do not always practice what they preach and that retention of a seat demands more than floor speeches.

The hotel was later revealed as a favorite hangout for Frank Costello, the celebrated gangster-gambler, although a report that Costello was part owner was not substantiated by the records.

FEW QUESTION that Fulbright's thinking on most issues is remote from that of a majority of his constituents.

Arkansas is a state where the majority of the people think the Constitution is a pretty good instrument without need of drastic alteration; where the 10th Amendment is as respected as the 5th; where national sovereignty is not regarded as a diabolical concept; where outspoken anti-communism is not considered a threat to world peace.

It is thus a state regarded by those who have made Fulbright an international hero as a region inhabited by backward citizens whose only redeeming feature is that they are represented by a Senator who has frankly expressed a grave distrust of the American people's capacity to govern themselves.

No analysis of Fulbright's career can omit the significance of his three years' training, when he was just a country boy from the Ozarks, as a Rhodes Scholar at Oxford University in 1925-28.

It was there, no doubt, that he learned the ironical use of the word "patriot" as one who is a seditious disturber of the government. (The English use of the word in this sense dates back to the early 18th Century.) Fulbright's speeches and public statements over a 20-year period are littered with contemptuous references to "super-patriots," "pseudo-patriots," and "professional patriots."

Life had always been pleasant for the precocious youth of 20 who showed up at Oxford, dazzled by the trans-Atlantic voyage. He had never been outside of Missouri, Arkansas, Oklahoma and Texas before.

He had entered the University of Arkanas at 16 and was graduated from law school four years later. His father was a prosperous Missouri farmer who took his family to Fayetteville, Arkansas, when the Senator was 9. Banking and lumber investments made the elder Fulbright well-to-do.

Fulbright was an unquestioned social and intellectual success at Oxford. He studied modern history and political science, captained the Pembroke College tennis team and was president of two clubs.

Rhodes Scholar

The scholarship which gave Fulbright his British education was one of those underwritten by the late Cecil Rhoades, who dreamed of an Anglo-American federation which would return the United States to the British Empire. Rhodes could not envision the liquidation of that empire but his scholarship fund has demonstrably operated to affect the viewpoint of several thousands of young Americans, many now occupying high places in the American government.

In Fulbright, the indoctrination emerged in a disdain of American constitutional processes and a yearning for American-British leadership of a community of North Atlantic nations.

The British have given full recognition to his services. In 1953, he returned to the quadrangles of Oxford to deck himself out in cap and gown and receive the honorary degree of doctor of civil law. The citation called him "the trustiest of allies."

In 1928, after graduation from Oxford, Fulbright roamed Eastern Europe. The 23-year-old youth viewed the operations of fascism in several countries and was dutifully shocked. The rival menace of communism, not too apparent in those days, failed to stir his interest.

His father's lumber business beckoned but Fulbright wanted no more of Arkansas. He headed for Washington, D. C., pursued his study of law at George Washington University, got married in 1932, and was, of course, drafted by the New Deal in 1933.

He became an attorney in the Anti-Trust Division of the Justice Department and found himself eventually on the legal staff of the National Recovery Administration. His antipathy for the Constitution's antiquated provisions presumably dates from his first big assignment—to defend the constitutionality of the NRA in the Schechter "sick chicken" case.

The Supreme Court, then more alive to the legal traditions which Fulbright now condemns, held that the NRA was unconstitutional. Fulbright was out of a job.

THIS SETBACK qualified him, by a process of reasoning not unknown in academic circles, as an expert on constitutional law and the students at George Washington University benefited from his instructions in that subject for a year.

The wanderer had been away from home for almost 10 years when he returned to become an instructor at the University of Arkansas. His liberal views excited some controversy which was heightened when he was selected, at 34, to be president of the University. This job lasted two years—until he was fired by Governor Homer M. Adkins.

The lumber business then absorbed him for a period during which he did not lose his zeal for public service. In 1942, Fulbright ran for the House and was elected. Few freshmen have entered Congress with less publicity nor attracted more within a short period.

Fulbright first aroused the attention of the Liberal Establishment by joining the small minority which voted against continuance of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, then headed by Representative Martin Dies (D.-Texas).

The Committee's investigation of Communists in government and elsewhere was "unnecessary," Fulbright told the House, "and moreover was not in the interests of maintaining good relations with our allies." Good relations with Russia were essential to prepare the way for friendship after the war, he said.

THE SCENE was thus set for his bursting upon the national scene as the author of a one-sentence resolution which put the House of Representatives on record as favoring United States participation in "international machinery" to bring about world peace after the war had ended.

World War II had still a long way to go. Some in Congress thought this blanket commitment to a future United Nations was premature. They urged caution and noted

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

that a surrender of national sovereignty seemed to be involved.

This put Fulbright in one of the rages which have frequently illuminated the uneasy status of his emotions. His response 18 years ago was strikingly similar to statements now heard in attacks upon "extremists." He can rightfully claim to be one of the first Americans to sense the peril of the "radical right."

"The professional patriots beat their breasts and wave the flag and shout, 'sovereignty,' " he declaimed, "hoping thereby to frighten us, like sheep, into the corral of isolationism."

"In the minds of many, the word 'sovereignty' has some mystical connotation in some way associated with divinity."

The Liberal community clasped Fulbright to its bosom and he became the subject of admiring editorials, dispatches and magazine articles. Walter Lippmann, never slow to encourage budding talent, acclaimed the Fulbright Resolution as recognizing that "the security and the peace of the United States requires agreements with other nations."

"We are allied with Russia in this great war," Lippmann wrote. "We will live in the same world with Russia after the war is won . . . We have to find the ways of living comfortably and of working together on the great issues."

(Fulbright has venerated Lippmann since that day. In May, 1961, catechizing a group of young Foreign Service applicants, the Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee quizzed them closely on whether they were faithful readers of columnist Lippmann. The inference was not lost on those present—a non-reader of Lippmann could hardly be expected to carry the proper American message overseas.)

Overnight, Fulbright was a celebrity.

"We must learn to overcome our emotional prejudice against Russia!" he told applauding audiences.

THE FULBRIGHT RESOLUTION was approved by the House, September 21, 1943, after it had been amended to insure that post-war approval of any international organization should be conducted "through constitutional processes." Fulbright scoffed at the amendment, calling it meaningless.

The Senate, after some further amendments, approved the resolution November 5, 1943. The United States thereby waived any bargaining power it might have exercised at the conference tables to which Roosevelt and Truman came at Teheran, Yalta and Potsdam.

Sixteen years later, the United Nations, which evolved in 1945 from the Fulbright resolution of 1943, has been revealed valueless as an instrument for creation and perpetuation of peace.

When the UN Charter was under consideration in 1945, Fulbright was frank in brushing aside the significance of language stating that the organization would be "based upon the principle of the sovereign equality of all its members."

"This (approval of the charter) means a complete departure from our traditional policy in international relations," he said, pridefully. "The declaration (on the sovereignty principle) is not true in fact and the organization denies it in the allocation of power in the security council."

Surrender to the UN

The fact was, he asserted, that the United States government could no longer protect the people from war and had to surrender part of its national sovereignty to the UN in order to gain the protection of that organization.

Some "extreme nationalists" were crying about the sacrifice, he said, but they had to recognize that the principle of national sovereignty in the atomic era was "obsolete."

"The idea of world government frightens people because of some of its connotations," he remarked, but added, soothingly, "I feel that we do not need a complete world government with an office of price administration and a war production board to regulate its economic phases."

ONE TWO-YEAR TERM in the House was sufficient for a Congressman who had received nation-wide publicity. Fulbright aspired to the Senate in 1944 and victory was doubly delightful: He defeated Homer Adkins, the Governor who had fired him as a university president.

As a freshman Senator, he scorned to obey the rule recommending respectful silence for a period. In his maiden speech March 28, 1945, he lectured his colleagues on internationalism and sovereignty. Americans were confused about sovereignty, he said, and must be ready to sacrifice some of their "most cherished prejudices" to attain world order.

Anti-British and anti-Russian prejudices in the United States should be re-examined, he declared, in favor of a policy of "respect and consideration for a valiant ally in peace as well as war." He deplored "unbridled and intemperate attacks" on Russia and communism.

"The Russian experiment in socialism is scarcely more radical for modern times than was the American Declaration of Independence in the days of George III," he told wide-eyed Senators.

On another occasion, he displayed a child-like faith in the good intentions of Josef Stalin. Supporting a proposal to establish the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, he noted:

"The Russian government has signed this agreement. If Stalin were primarily interested in promoting communism throughout the world rather than peace, he would have nothing to do with a plan to bring help to the starving and helpless people of Europe."

History records the answer: UNRRA was converted by Communist officials, both Russian and American, into a program for feeding good Marxist-Leninists and starving most of those who did not accept the Communist faith.

AGAIN AND AGAIN, Fulbright reverted to the peril of patriotism. "The real danger," he said, "is the muddle-headed emotionalism of pseudo-patriots who think, by appealing to the petty and short-sighted selfishness of human beings, they are preserving a world that has already vanished."

Fulbright, in that period, was also contemptuous of those who envisioned Communist domination of a future United Nations.

"In an appeal to prejudice and emotion," he fulminated, "the devotees of the *status quo* attempt to scare us by saying we would be turning over the control of our country to the Communists . . . This is, of course, rank nonsense."

Then came one of those sly jabs at a Southern colleague.

"It may have been excusable," Fulbright said, "during the youth of our country, to assume that these 'furriners', as Gene Talmadge might say, would outsmart us. But surely today . . . we are not going to insist that we are too stupid to participate with the other civilized peoples of the earth in a common understanding."

FULBRIGHT has long suffered over the inadequacies of the Constitution. A "fatal defect" in this document which perturbs him is the lack of a provision for removing the President when he does not have a majority in Congress under his control.

In 1946, both houses of Congress came under Republican control with Truman, a Democratic President, in the White House. Fulbright, recognizing that under the British system this would have meant downfall of the administration, called upon Truman to resign.

The President should first appoint a Republican Secretary of State to succeed him in office, Fulbright advised. He called this a "perfectly legal" formula, permitting one-party control of the government.

Harry Truman did not take kindly to the suggestion that he relinquish the immense patronage privileges of the White House as well as its power and prestige. The proposal did little more than reinforce Senatorial opinion that Fulbright was politically unstable with a propensity for tampering with constitutional processes.

His most open attack upon the Constitution appeared in an address prepared for a 1961 summer conference at Stanford University. The American constitutional system, he said, was "designed for an 18th Century agrarian society far removed from the centers of world power."

"It is imperative," Fulbright contended, "that we break out of the intellectual confines of cherished and traditional beliefs and open our minds to the possibility that basic changes in our system may be essential to meet the requirements of the 20th Century."

FULBRIGHT EVENTUALLY came to realize that there were some defects in the Russian character, that Communists could not be completely trusted. He even came to suspect that Russia might have designs on world domination.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

He first voiced these dark forebodings in a New York City address May 17, 1946, but accompanied them with an explanation: It was really our fault that Russia got that way.

"Never before in a public utterance have I questioned the purpose of Russia!" he declared. "With profound reluctance, I must admit that her recent actions are not consistent with a desire to bring peace to the world.

"I am not ready to say she has definitely and finally decided not to cooperate with the United Nations. Unfortunately, our own country has unwittingly contributed through weakness and vacillation to this result."

"Apologists for the Soviets"

Russia was "badly treated" after World War I, Fulbright explained, and "had some justification for resentment toward Western democracies." He ventured the opinion that Russia's policy partook both of opportunism and fanaticism.

How to handle the Kremlin? Fulbright's formula: Recognize Russia's need for adequate warm water ports and "a fair and equitable share in oil of the Middle East." Make "positive and generous proposals to Russia rather than have her continue to gnaw away at the status quo in defiance of the principles of the UN."

Then, as now, Fulbright was baffled by Russia's intransigence in response to "positive and generous proposals." As late as October 2, 1961, returning from a European trip, he confessed that he was still mystified.

"We should try to find out what they (the Soviets) really mean," he suggested.

AN INCLINATION to blame the United States and its allies for trouble with the Soviet Union persists to this day. In London, just before he returned home, he remarked that "the West shares with Russia the blame for the present Berlin crisis," thus inviting Russia to believe that her case in Berlin is vastly better than it is.

His pro-British sentiments emerged strongly as he addressed the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association Conference on September 30, 1961. He urged members of the Commonwealth to accept Britain's proposed entry into the European Common Market with "understanding and a sense of history."

The Common Market had to be saved, he said, from the dread possibilities of West German or French leadership. "Only Britain, I suggest, has the long experience, the ancient institutions and the over-all political maturity for leading Europe into a new era," he concluded to cries of "Hear! Hear!"

When Khrushchev torpedoed the Summit conference in Paris, Fulbright was quick to offer excuses for the Soviet Premier. True, he conceded, Khrushchev might have been more temperate in his language, but:

"It is difficult to see how anyone could have been expected to act substantially different from the way Khrushchev acted under the circumstances which confronted him in Paris."

The American government's "attitude of smug self-righteousness," following disclosure of the U-2 episode, in Fulbright's opinion, "must have been unbearably provocative to the Soviet government and contributed substantially to the violence and intemperate bad manners of Khrushchev in Paris."

Senator Kenneth B. Keating (R.-N. Y.) thought this statement intolerable. It seemed an incredible paradox, he remarked, that members of Congress should become "apologists for the Soviets." Senator Alexander Wiley (R.-Wis.) noted that "the biggest effort —second only to Moscow—to pin blame on United States foreign policy appears to be coming from the Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee."

FULBRIGHT was one of the Congressional leaders who wanted Khrushchev to address a joint session of Congress when he visited the United States, a scheme punctured by wiser counsel. He has indicated it would be wise in the long run to recognize Communist China, advising that "we can at least try to bring about conditions that would enable us to recognize" the Peiping regime.

He has said some harsh things about Russian policy now and then but an unconquerable optimism about the essential goodness of the Soviet regime has never faded from his forgiving heart. This inspired him, in a Senate speech March 16, 1959, to make some remarkable predictions:

- That, in time, "the public opinion of the world will cause the Russian people (sic) to relinquish their control of the once-free peoples of Poland, East Germany, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Latvia, Estonia, Lithuania, Rumania and Bulgaria."
- That, "we may even hope that, as conditions of life improve in the USSR, that the harsh and brutal attitude of the Russians toward their fellow men may be humanized."
- That, "we ought not to accept the facile axiom that the Russians have no intentions of ever coming to reasonable terms on any matter directly affecting their own interests."

This is the man who, in a now-celebrated memorandum written in June but not made public until August 2, 1961, proposed that officers of the military and naval forces of the United States be gagged from public statements on the evils of communism.

The memorandum went to President Kennedy and to Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara and resulted in a series of new policy statements which, in effect, emasculated a directive by the National Security Council in 1958.

This directive had established a government policy for the use of military personnel and facilities to arouse the public to the menace of the Cold War.

"Abject Appeasement"

THE FULBRIGHT MEMORANDUM was labeled "shocking" and "a document of abject appeasement" by such Senators as Strom Thurmond (D.-S. C.), Barry Goldwater (R.-Ariz.) and Karl Mundt (R.-S. D.). It touched off a storm of public resentment which was eventually translated into a resolution for an inquiry by a Senate Armed Services subcommittee into the entire subject of Defense Department policies in relation to the Cold War.

The memorandum's authorship remains obscure. None believes that Fulbright personally wrote it but he called it "my personal memo," prepared under his orders, and defended it vigorously. He seemed astonished that it should have stirred up national concern.

The memorandum stated that it was a "basic error" to believe that military personnel had "the broad background" enabling them to relate the various aspects of the cold war effort, one to the other.

But it is far more than a diatribe against the military. For the document reveals that Fulbright has reverted—if, indeed, he has ever changed—to the belief that one can get along with the Soviet Union. Attached to the memorandum is the March, 1961, issue of the *Bulletin of Atomic Scientists,* a basic source material for the conclusions expressed in the memorandum. The *Bulletin* directs its main fire against both military and nonmilitary groups which "see the ultimate objective of world domination as an immutable and dominant force in Communist strategy." With this point of view, Fulbright obviously disagrees.

And his old contempt for patriotism and public opinion, in this country at any rate, shows up clearly in the memorandum when he fulminates against a people's pride in victory and declares: "Fundamentally, it is believed that the American people have little, if any, need to be 'alerted to the menace of the Cold War.' "

These dangerous impulses pose a clear and present danger to the Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee who fondly hopes that "public opinion" will one day bring about the voluntary liquidation of the Soviet Empire.

ORDER BLANK

HUMAN EVENTS

410 First Street, S. E., Washington 3, D. C.

Send me ..... reprints of "ARKANSAS' SENATOR FULBRIGHT" at $ .....

☐ Payment enclosed ☐ Bill me

Additional copies of this 4-page article: single copy 20c (coins, no stamps); 10 copies $1; 25 copies $2; 100 copies $5; 500 copies $20; 1,000 copies $30. In 5,000 lots $25 per thousand. For first-class mail delivery of 4-page articles add 1c per copy; for airmail add 2c per copy.

Name _____

Street _____

City _____ Zone ____ State _____

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

IS HUMAN EVENTS BIASED?

In reporting the news, HUMAN EVENTS is OBJECTIVE; it aims for accurate presentation of the facts. But it is **NOT** IMPARTIAL. It looks at events through eyes that are BIASED in favor of limited constitutional government, states' rights, private enterprise and individual freedom.

Those principles represented the bias of the Founding Fathers. We think the same bias will preserve freedom in America.

HUMAN EVENTS

--- COMMENTARY ---

Greater than the power of the scepter in the hands of a king is a five-cent pencil in the hands of a citizen writing to his congressman.

—Congresswoman Catherine May (R.-Wash.)

Vol. XIX, No. 5—Section IV

February 3, 1962

What About Cuba, Mr. President?

By Congressman August E. Johansen (R.-Mich.)

THE SUBJECT MATTER of President Kennedy's State of the Union message encompassed the globe and reached even to the moon. But it totally ignored a crucial threat 90 miles from our shores.

On the problem of Castro's Cuba the President offered only a thundering silence.

In his corresponding message a year ago, delivered 10 days after his inauguration, Mr. Kennedy at least cautiously acknowledged that "In Latin America, Communist agents seeking to exploit that region's peaceful revolution of hope have established a base in Cuba."

This year, however, Cuba is not so much as mentioned.

The President voiced only the meaningless generalization—itself factually questionable, to say the least—that "the blight of communism has been increasingly exposed and isolated in the Americas." He did boast of our intervention against the non-Communist dictatorship in the Dominican Republic. And, of course, he proposed more billions in United States aid to Latin America.

But there was not a word about Castro's now admitted Sino-Soviet ties—or about his now openly-avowed Communist loyalties and objectives.

Most shocking of all, there was not a word in the President's message about a US State Department "white paper" issued only eight days earlier, reciting with startling frankness, accuracy and detail the Castro-Communist tieup and threat in this hemisphere.

(The authorship of this "white paper" seems veiled in mystery. Can it be that patriotic realism has actually infiltrated the State Department? One wonders whether or when someone has been —or will be—fired for so bluntly telling the truth.)

Here are some excerpts from this amazing document:

> **"From the time the Castro regime came to power . . . it has deliberately tried to undermine established governments in Latin America and destroy the inter-American system. In the process it has associated itself with the Sino-Soviet bloc in an active partnership and adopted totalitarian policies and techniques to cement dictatorial control over the Cuban people. This situation confronts the nations of the Western Hemisphere with a grave and urgent challenge.**

> **" . . . As a bridgehead of Sino-Soviet imperialism within the inner defenses of the Western Hemisphere, Cuba under the Castro regime represents a serious threat to the individual and collective security of the American republics . . . "**

This "white paper" details the "massive military buildup" which has occurred in Cuba under Castro. It points out that Cuba's ground forces are now larger than those of any American republic, except the United States, and at least 10 times larger than those of any previous Cuban government. It cites major contributions of the Communist bloc to this buildup. It cites pledges of military support for Cuba by both Soviet Russia and Red China. It spells out all aspects of the Communist takeover in Cuba in frightening detail. It even records Castro's Communist associations dating back to 1948.

Yet Cuba and Castro are not so much as mentioned in President Kennedy's State of the Union message—nor is there any hint of a forthcoming communication to the Congress on the subject.

Why, Mr. President?

And an even more urgent and insistent question:

When, Mr. President?

COPYRIGHT 1962 by HUMAN EVENTS

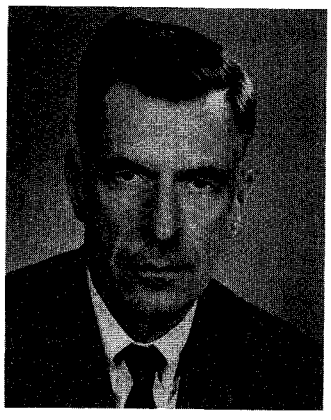
PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Runaway Ideas on a World Scale

By HOLMES ALEXANDER

RUNAWAY IDEAS in government occur when some notion, not wholly insane of itself, gets the bit in its teeth and goes wild, frequently starting a whole stampede of vagrant thoughts.

Something of the sort is recognizable in the idea of our Ambassador to India, Harvard Professor John Kenneth Galbraith, who proposes



GALBRAITH

FREEMAN

that American agriculture, with its miraculous productive power, be government-guided toward feeding the hungry peoples of India and elsewhere.

You see how the whole thing started in Galbraith's brain. Under World War II encouragement of Federal price supports, American farming became an industry of prodigious output. The supports were continued in peacetime until we raised an enormous surplus. Then, to reduce the rotting stockpile, we found Federally-subsidized consumers—school children at lunch hour, needy persons throughout the nation and, finally, hungry persons in friendly lands abroad.

But world planners, like Galbraith, know a good thing when they see it. Why confine these overseas shipments to surplus products only? The hungry foreigners are still there, aren't they? And American agriculture is immeasurably bountiful, is it not? Ergo, let us pay American farmers to raise the specific foods that allied and neutral nations desire. Give Nehru and Nkrumah, give Bourguiba of Tunisia and Ayub Khan of Pakistan a menu, or calorie chart, or protein schedule, and allow them to order what their people should have.

Early last year, the New Frontier made a cautious experiment in this direction. Agriculture Secretary Freeman, with the purpose of meeting a foreign demand of Food for Peace, raised the support prices on soybeans. This is the government's way of calling for increased planting and harvesting of any commodity. The revolutionary nature of Freeman's action was that he was not doing it to satisfy a shortage in the American market, but to cater to foreign appetites. Later, he did the same, on a smaller scale, for powdered milk. Ambassador Galbraith evidently took it from there.

Our country is full of runaway ideas which began tamely enough. Foreign aid began as the four-year Marshall Plan to rehabilitate Western Europe. Federal aid to dependent children commenced humanely and modestly, but is today a disgraceful racket which is bursting from our control.

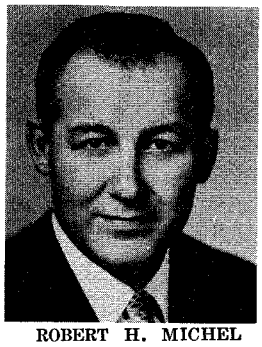
(*Distributed by McNaught Syndicate, Inc.*)

Congressman Michel's Taped Interview—$7

CONGRESSMAN ROBERT H. MICHEL, third term Republican from the 18th Congressional District of Illinois, is the guest on this week's Congressional Interview.

Mr. Michel, a member of the House Appropriations Committee, presents a discussion in depth of the Administration's budget for the coming fiscal year.

He points out the inconsistency of a declared surplus in view of the general fiscal posture of the Administration.



ROBERT H. MICHEL

This 12½-minute tape-recorded interview is the fourth in the 1962 series of HUMAN EVENTS CONGRESSIONAL INTERVIEWS.

The price for single interviews is $7. If you enter an order for one interview a month the price is $6, one a week $5; $1 is refunded for each tape returned.

Other interviews which you may wish to have are listed below. They are previous numbers of HUMAN EVENTS CONGRESSIONAL INTERVIEW.

1962

1. W. J. B. Dorn (D.-S.C.)
2. Joseph D. Waggonner (D.-La.)
3. Donald C. Bruce (R.-Ind.)

1961

42. Melvin R. Laird (R.-Wisc.)
41. Michael J. Bernstein
40. V. W. Thomson (R.-Wisc.)
39. A. I. Selden, Jr. (D.-Ala.)
38. Frank J. McNamara
37. William B. Widnall (R.-N.J.)
36. Laurence Curtis (R.-Mass.)
35. Elmer J. Hoffman (R.-Ill.)
34. John R. Pillion (R.-N.Y.)
33. Robert C. Wilson (R.-Calif.)
32. Carroll D. Kearns (R.-Pa.)
31. G. C. Cunningham (R.-Neb.)
30. William C. Cramer (R.-Fla.)
29. James E. Bromwell (R.-Iowa)
28. John B. Anderson (R.-Ill.)
27. Ralph F. Beermann (R.-Neb.)
26. Strom Thurmond (D.-S.C.)
25. Albert Quie (R.-Minn.)
24. Jamie L. Whitten (D.-Miss.)
23. Robert R. Barry (R.-N.Y.)

The 12½-minute length of these interviews makes them ideal for a 15-minute radio program. Many serve as the weekly highlight of organization meetings.

Help your organization and your community to *BE INFORMED ON TIME. Write now for* HUMAN EVENTS *CONGRESSIONAL INTERVIEW.*

410 First Street, S. E., Washington 3, D. C.

REPRINTS of this section available: single copy 20c; 10 for $1; 25 for $2; 100 for $5; 500 for $20; 1,000 for $30. Order by section number and date of issue.

TRIAL SUBSCRIPTIONS: 5 weeks $1. Yearly rate $12.50; 6 months $6.50. After you have read each section of HUMAN EVENTS, put it in an envelope and mail it to someone else who will value its contents.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Local 3 of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers went out on strike in New York City, demanding a 20-hour week. The striking electricians got an agreement providing for 25 hours at $4.96 per hour and a compulsory five hours more of overtime at $7.44 an hour, plus a permissible 10 hours additional at $7.44 each if during the five-day week, or $9.92 per hour if on Saturdays, Sundays or holidays. Thus, the employed electrician is sure of $161 and is allowed to earn $235 if 40 hours are worked Monday through Friday and as much as $270 if 10 hours of overtime occur during the top-premium days.

Though the union local has only 9,000 members, it was able to stop work on $200 million worth of building construction. Local 3's power of extortion is due to the stranglehold held over a huge industry by a small number of men. These men are tightly controlled by Local 3. A dissenting "scab" would risk not merely his livelihood but his life.

The industry, on the other hand, consists of 600 weakly-united contractors who have always had to surrender.

The excuse for the demand for the shorter work-week was that automation will cut down the amount of electrical labor required. The falsity of the union claim is that there is already a desperate shortage of electricians in New York City. There are tens of thousands of qualified electricians throughout the US who would gladly come in and relieve the shortage, but Local 3 is a father-and-son union. With few exceptions, an applicant gets in only if his father is a member. Local 3 is determined to protect its dues-paying members against open-market labor competition.

To meet the shortage, employers have been allowed to bring in members of the same international union from elsewhere. Two thousand union members from outside New York at present have temporary working permits. They can work in New York, but only as long as Local 3 decides they will not take away any work from Local 3 members.

Local 3's pay scale, however, is only part of the story. The fringe benefits cost employers an additional $2 an hour, or $70 per 35-hour week.

The Electricians' Fringe Benefits

By VICTOR RIESEL

NEW YORK—In a state of shock over the drive for a four—probably five—hour day, many an electrical construction firm executive is blowing his fuse over the strike here.

They believe the electricians long ago overloaded the circuit. The businessmen, on an anti-ulcer diet, say it has been tough enough living by the rules of the "Gold Book."

I have been going through this "Gold Book"—which is a description of the fringe benefits the industry pays members of the suddenly internationally-famous Local 3, led by the silver-maned Harry Van Arsdale, Jr. It truly is the most unique contract in history, a way of life, and if I dig "Van" right, it's just the beginning.

In it, for example, is a clause creating a million-and-a-half-dollar fund which lends Local 3 members $1,000 to pay off the purchase of a car, or as much as $10,000 to retire a mortgage. All interest free. If the borrowers become ill or are laid off, they don't have to keep up their payments.

THIS FUND, like all others in the "Gold Book," comes out of a central pool completely contributed by the employers.

The electrical construction firms pay all social security taxes.

This tax costs the employer 6¼ per cent of payroll. Because the worker does not have to pay his own share, it is actually a raise in pay.

Each Monday, the "Gold Book" also says, the employer must deposit $20 to the special account of each worker in a special fund. This will provide, eventually, a $100-a-month pension. When the electrical worker adds social security and two other stipulated pensions, he will be able to retire at about 65 on $80 a week for the rest of his life.

Dedicated to the future, the "Gold Book" hardly ignores the present. There is provision for the support of a 350-acre estate in Southampton, Long Island, for a retreat called Bayberry. A central fund supplies all food and services. To it go some 40 electricians each week for participation in courses on "Critical Thinking." While there they are paid $140 for the week's study.

From the central fund, some $5,000 is spent annually to send a deserving worker and his wife for a two- or three-months' tour of far-off continents. And every contractor doing business of a million dollars or more must pay $5,280 for at least one six-year scholarship for a union member's child.

Soon the fund will build a cluster of convalescent cottages, probably at the Bayberry estate. There is something called serious injury pay—full salary for 15 years if a man is hurt on the job and is taken to a hospital immediately. There is virtually free dental care; free X-rays; free full medical diagnosis; and substantial hospitalization benefits for the union member and his wife and children up to 120 days.

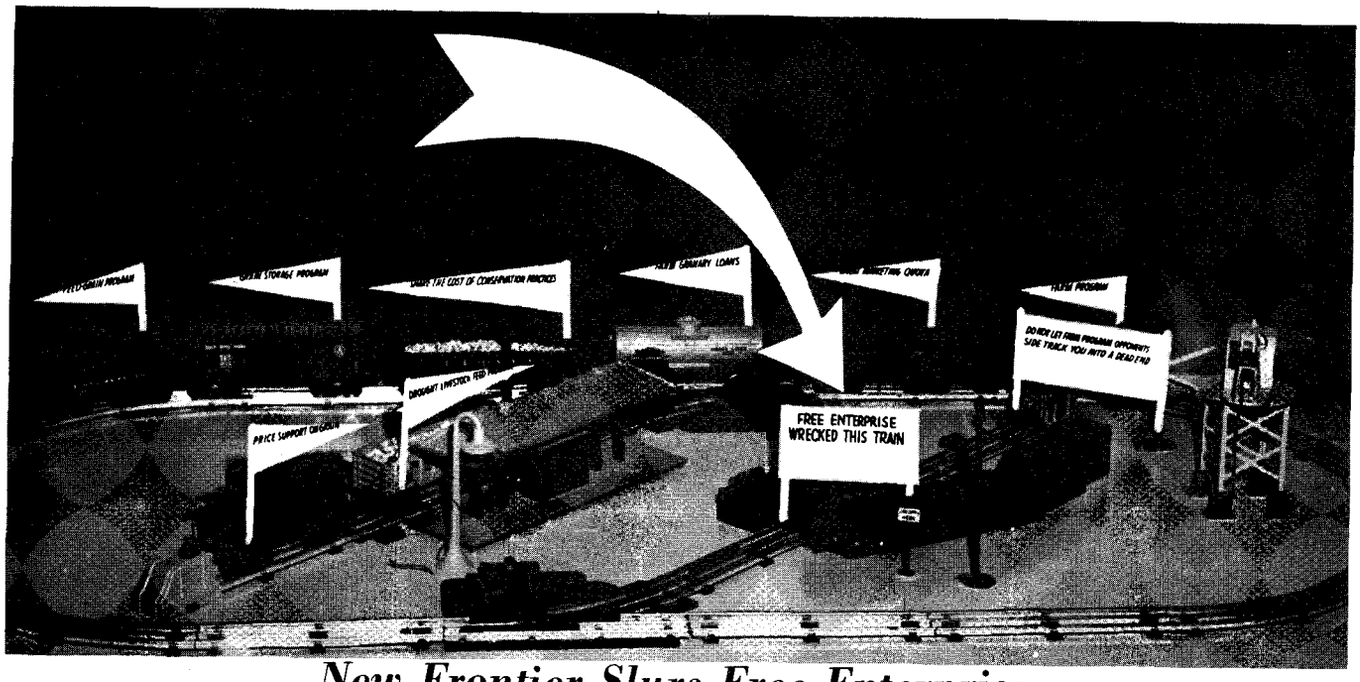
If a man is on jury duty, says the "Gold Book," he gets $15 a day in addition to the courtroom fee of $6. But to qualify for the money he must go through a 10 weeks' study course on politics and citizenship.

It ranges far, this "Gold Book." It provides, for example, a $90-a-year allowance for worn out tools and clothes. It is also possible for the union to borrow money interest free from the fund to build big blocks of cooperative housing.

Thus, Harry Van Arsdale has delivered to his members—and the employers say they have delivered, too. For they pay every cent of the multi-million-dollar cost of the "Gold Book."

(Distributed 1962, by The Hall Syndicate, Inc.)
(All Rights Reserved)

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



New Frontier Slurs Free Enterprise

A BANNER proclaiming "Free Enterprise Wrecked this Train" has evoked a storm of protest since its appearance last November. It was part of an exhibit at the 1961 South Dakota State Fair, at Huron. The exhibit was staged by the State Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service, an arm of the US Department of Agriculture.

The exhibit consisted of a model railroad, with its locomotive and cars bearing signs proclaiming the Kennedy-Freeman farm program. An overturned locomotive in the foreground carried the provocative banner. Behind it, another placard read: "Do Not Let Farm Program Opponents Sidetrack You Into a Dead End."

Immediate protests against this insult to the American free enterprise system were made by the South Dakota Stockgrowers Association, the South Dakota Farm Equipment Association, many Junior Chambers of Commerce in the state, and responsible patriotic citizens throughout the country. A Congressional investigation has been requested.

Arthur L. Johnson, politically-appointed director of the South Dakota ASCS, and others of his offices have issued conflicting statements on the use of the sign and the repugnant philosophy it suggests, despite that his office is responsible for the exhibit. Protests to Agriculture Secretary Orville Freeman have brought no explanation or reply to date. And here must lie the basic responsibility, with an Administration which would not only permit this type of philosophy to exist within its ranks but to boldly, blatantly proclaim it.

25 Years and Billions of Dollars Later . . .

By Senator J. Glenn Beall (R.-Md.)

Welfare abuses—in relief, jobless pay, aid to children—are coming under increasing fire. Charges of chiseling, fraud and subsidized immorality are multiplying across the country.

Because of welfare rules made in Washington, a growing number of mothers appear to find it profitable to grow children and keep the father away from home. An investigation found one woman with 14 illegitimate children, by 10 different fathers, who had drawn more than $61,000 in welfare money. Examples of abuses are endless.

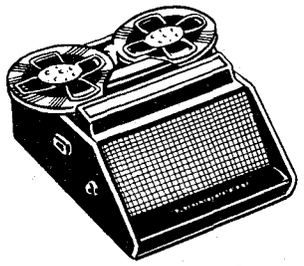
There are now 7,300,000 people on relief. The total cost of unemployment pay, social security payments and Federal, state and local relief has risen—even in these years of record prosperity—to the highest figure ever reached, $20,700,000,000 a year.

Here is the way these three programs have grown in 25 years:

	25 Years Ago -Per Year-	NOW -Per Year-
Relief Costs	$ 3,000,000,000	$ 5,000,000,000
Social Security Payments. .	ZERO	13,000,000,000
Unemployment Pay	ZERO	2,700,000,000
Total for three programs	$ 3,000,000,000	$20,700,000,000

MULTIPLY YOURSELF—MAIL THIS SECTION OF HUMAN EVENTS TO SOMEONE ELSE AFTER YOU HAVE READ IT

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



Political Action Conference Tapes Now Ready

The complete package of tape recordings of the Third HUMAN EVENTS Political Action Conference is now ready for distribution. Our editors and recording engineers have just finished this package of Conference Highlights, which includes all speeches, and the best parts of all question-and-answer sessions from the recent highly successful Conference held here in Washington, D. C.

One of the most important contributions you can make to the political activation of your community is to bring the recorded highlights of this important Conference to the attention of as many people as possible. These recordings, presented at public and private meetings, used on local radio stations, and loaned to other groups for their presentation, can spread the tremendous impact of this Conference among large numbers of people, and help to enlist their efforts and energies in the 1962 election campaigns.

Here, in the voices of successful Conservative political strategists, campaigners, organizers and candidates, are the who, what, how, and when of effective political action. Here, specially prepared for your use, is the know-how you must have for successful political activity. Here, from the historic HUMAN EVENTS Conference, are many of the keys to Conservative victory which could make the difference in your efforts this year.

Freshmen members of Congress describe how they won in Liberal-controlled areas. State legislators who won as Republicans in the Democratic-controlled deep South tell how it was done. A leading expert on Communist brainwashing describes its effectiveness and how it plays on the soft streak in America. High ranking members of Congress call for defense of Conservative principles, and a return to Constitutional government, free enterprise, individual liberty and a strong foreign policy. Special poll challengers describe how they stopped vote-frauds, and how you can do the same thing. All these and more are in the tape-recorded highlights from the Third HUMAN EVENTS Political Action Conference.

Begin now to plan a series of meetings right in your own home to feature these recordings. At such meetings, you can encourage other people from adjacent areas to schedule similar meetings there, and to present the recordings to their groups. By this simple process, you can begin a chain reaction of interest and activity which could have great significance in the all-important 1962 elections.

After listening to the entire package, you will want to select three or four of the best recordings for special presentations to community and civic groups PTA meetings, service clubs and church groups.

The price of the entire package—speeches and question-and-answer sessions—including the cost of the tape, $80. Individual speeches and question-and-answer sessions are $3 per 15-minute reel, $5.75 per half-hour reel, and $8.75 per 45-minute reel.

Enclosed is my check for $ **Bill me on delivery** ☐

Enter my order for the following:

Complete package of Conference Highlights $80 (save $28.25) ☐

Please send me the tapes checked below ☐

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ Zone _____ State _____

Admiral Ben Moreell, Keynote Address	15 minutes	$3	☐
Sen. John Tower (R.-Tex.) Speech	15 minutes	$3	☐
Tower Question and Answer	30 minutes	$5.75	☐
Cong. William E. Miller (R.-N.Y.) Speech	30 minutes	$5.75	☐
Miller Question and Answer	15 minutes	$3	☐
Cong. Bob Wilson (R.-Calif.) Speech	30 minutes	$5.75	☐
Wilson Question and Answer	15 minutes	$3	☐
Cong. Katharine St. George (R.-N.Y.) Speech	30 minutes	$5.75	☐
St. George Question and Answer	15 minutes	$3	☐
Major William E. Mayer, U.S.A. Speech	30 minutes	$5.75	☐
Communist brainwashing techniques and how they play on the soft streak in America.			
Mayer Question and Answer	15 minutes	$3	☐
Charles Boineau Speech GOP Member, South Carolina Legislature	15 minutes	$3	☐
How a Republican won in South Carolina for the first time in a hundred years.			
Cong. James E. Bromwell (R.-Iowa) Speech	15 minutes	$3	☐
Jack Cox, Speech, Question and Answer GOP Candidate, Governor of Texas	45 minutes	$8.75	☐
Cong. Durward G. Hall (R.-Mo.) Speech	15 minutes	$3	☐
Hall Question and Answer	15 minutes	$3	☐
Kenneth Kohler Speech GOP Member, Texas Legislature	15 minutes	$3	☐
How his organization proved that the Tower election was not a political accident, and that it can be done again in the South.			
Kohler and Boineau, Joint Question and Answer Session	30 minutes	$5.75	☐
Fulton Lewis, Jr. Speech	15 minutes	$3	☐
Calls for a housecleaning of the State Department, and the Foreign Service, based on recent debacles in both.			
Lewis Question and Answer	30 minutes	$5.75	☐
Stuart Paine Speech	30 minutes	$5.75	☐
The story of the Special Poll Challengers in Louisville, and how they helped Conservatives win the recent election there.			
Paine Question and Answer	15 minutes	$3	☐
Cong. John J. Rhodes (R.-Ariz.) Speech	30 minutes	$5.75	☐
Cong. Albert Quie (R.-Minn.) Speech	15 minutes	$3	☐
Quie and Bromwell Joint Question and Answer Session	30 minutes	$5.75	☐

PYRIGHT 1962 by HUMAN EVENTS

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Social Rights -- A Two-Way Street

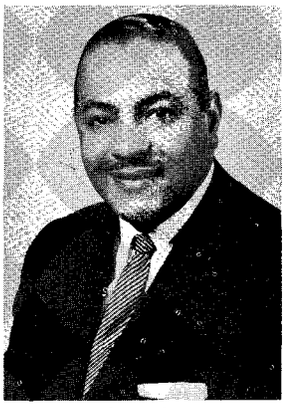
By ALEXANDER F. JONES

Executive Editor, Syracuse [N. Y.] Herald-American

(Editor's Note: Alexander F. (Casey) Jones is one of America's outstanding newspaper editors. He is a past president of the American Society of Newspaper Editors and was for twelve years managing editor of the liberal Washington *Post*, later becoming publisher Eugene Meyer's special assistant. He has been executive editor of the Syracuse *Herald-Journal* and *Herald-American* since 1950.)

A GREAT OUTCRY is being raised because the membership committee of the Cosmos Club in Washington rejected the application presented on behalf of Carl Rowan, a Negro journalist who is now an under secretary of State.

President Kennedy withdrew his application for membership as have Ambassador John K. Galbraith, Edward R. Murrow and other Administration figures.



ROWAN

Discrimination is being charged and the Cosmos Club is being held up as an example of the type of white supremacy organization that is still holding out for segregation.

I say this incident is a planned political effort in which the Kennedy forces are trying to make Negro capital, using Rowan as a sort of Freedom Rider in the National Capital on the club front.

I have been a member of the fine old Cosmos Club for more than 20 years and I believe I can speak with some slight knowledge of how it operates.

I say that there are people who think Carl Rowan is a bumptious, self-enamored and tasteless fellow.

And that estimate completely discounts the color of his skin. He could be platinum blond and the people I am thinking about would still turn thumbs down on him.

Many men have been blackballed in application for membership by the Cosmos Club committee, as they have in most private clubs.

The only one I have ever heard of who ever made a public issue of it is this same Carl Rowan, who is giving every indication of becoming a professional racist.

And as one of the last Americans who says a white man still has certain rights in this country —few to be sure, but some—I insist a private club has a right to say who its members shall be.

If I applied for membership in a Negro club, and there are some fine ones, I would be blackballed so quickly the ballot box would look like an ebony hail storm.

Why? Because I am a white man and would not fit in with the purpose of the club. I would not have the necessary understanding and feeling for the organization.

Why do we persist in being so hypocritical about this situation?

People like people of like interests, like religions, and like racial origins.

A Catholic likes Catholic neighborhoods where there are Catholic churches and schools. He is more at home with his own kind.

The same thing is true of Protestants and Jews. They are attracted to their own kind.

NO RACE is more clannish than American Negroes. They have their own likes and dislikes to a greater degree, I believe, than most any racial group. And more power to them.

I have absolutely no feeling on this except that I think there is a lamentable lack of candor and honest expression on this subject.

Men are very free with their real opinions in private but tongue-tied publicly.

I hope the time has not come in this country when a white man is afraid to speak up and say he, like every one else, has his preferences when it comes to friends, associates and neighbors.

The professional racists are making hay on the assumption that a white man is afraid he will be called a segregationist, or an anti-Negro bigot.

We can all walk in dignity in this country without stepping on each other's toes, if everyone will agree that a citizen's rights are not a one-way street, whatever the color of one's skin.

Responsibilities go along with rights.

And it is my considered opinion that the old Cosmos Club does not have to have a Carl Rowan if it does not want him.

One more thing—there has never been any politics around the Cosmos Club. We had trouble getting up two tickets for officer elections.

I called up a member, who dozes in the sunshine daily in the Thomas Lincoln O'Brien Memorial Chair, just to take his temperature.

"Any time a man is blackballed and makes a public issue of it he is either a politician or he is proving why the membership committee did not like him," he said.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Pleasure of Our Company

From the Wall Street Journal, January 15, 1962

SOME YEARS AGO, in our Washington reporting days, a friend proposed us for membership in the Cosmos Club. For reasons which we never heard, we were not elected.

We don't bring up this obviously personal matter in order to appear in sackcloth and ashes, but because another applicant for membership in that club has been turned down, and the event has erupted into a national hubbub. Perhaps our own experience makes us feel a little freer to make some observations on the right of people to associate with whom they please.

The reason for the fanfare in the case of a State Department official is that he is a Negro. It is quite likely, although we do not know, that his application was turned down because he is a Negro. And the objective of all this publicity is to challenge the right of this club to reject anyone, as a Negro.

This is not, of course, an isolated affair. There have been other occasions when the failures of applicants to be accepted into private clubs or social organizations have made national publicity. In at least one instance the Attorney General of the United States publicly interested himself in the election rules of a club, and there have been some hints from political figures, not exactly veiled, that perhaps this sort of "discrimination" ought to be a matter for legislative action.

Nor are private clubs the only target. The right of people privately to choose their associates in other ways, as for example in living as neighbors, has also been challenged, both with the weight of the law and the weapon of public castigation.

All this is done in the name of civil rights. The right of a person to be welcomed by others —his right to "join"—is equated with every citizen's unquestioned right to vote, to receive justice in the courts and to share in all of the public facilities on an equal basis with every other citizen. The blanket of public policy would be spread over the one as over the other.

At the very least this is misguided, for the forced association is the breeder of resentment and there is no such thing as friendship not freely given. If the object is, as we think it should be, to end unreasoned prejudice in men's hearts, its cause is not forwarded by mistakenly invoking the name of one right to trample upon another one.

For what is overlooked here is that one of the most fundamental of all rights is the freedom to choose one's friends and social associates; this above all is no affair of the state or of society.

In exercising that right people may be blindly prejudiced, snobbish, arrogant or just plain muddle-headed. Still it is their own affair if they prefer not to associate with Protestants, Catholics, Jews, Gentiles, white people, dark people, or undistinguished journalists; or if they prefer, as some in all these groups do, to have societies exclusively limited to their fellows with whom they feel a common bond. Any injury they do, in a free country of infinite variety, is only to themselves.

But when we, as the whole society, undertake to say they cannot do so, and that every member of society must conform to one rule of conduct, then our own prejudices have become blind and the injury we do is to the whole of our society.

Any freedom, if it is to mean anything, must oftentimes embrace the right to do things most people don't approve of. Freedom of speech includes the right to say silly things; freedom of worship includes the right to bow down to idols. And so freedom must include the right of some very nice people, for possibly quite foolish reasons, to decide that they do not want to share the pleasure of our company.

U.S. CONSTITUTION, 1787.
"WELL, DOCTOR, WHAT HAVE WE GOT, A REPUBLIC OR A MONARCHY?"
"A REPUBLIC, IF YOU CAN KEEP IT."
said by Franklin to Mrs. Powel of Philadelphia after the Constitutional Convention, Sept. 17, 1787
SEE WHAT I MEAN, MRS. POWEL?
POWER HUNGRY LEFT-WINGERS OF WASHINGTON

The US since World War II has been the policeman of the world, the banker of the world and the Santa Claus of the world.
Senator Harry F. Byrd (D.-Va.)

REPRINTS of this section available: single copy 20c; 10 for $1; 25 for $2; 100 for $5; 500 for $20; 1,000 for $30. Order by section number and date of issue.

TRIAL SUBSCRIPTIONS: 5 weeks $1. Yearly rate $12.50; 6 months $6.50. After you have read each section of HUMAN EVENTS, put it in an envelope and mail it to someone else who will value its contents.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Colonel Pirnie Honored

Pictured above is Colonel W. Bruce Pirnie, USAF (Ret.), receiving the Special Cravat of the Order of Cloud and Banner from the Nationalist Chinese Minister Plenipotentiary to the US, Y. S. Kiang who gave the award on behalf of President Chiang Kai-shek. The Colonel is an old friend of the Generalissimo.

Colonel Pirnie, who is New England Chairman of the Committee of One Million Against the Admission of Red China to the United Nations, was given this recognition for his outstanding work as a supply officer in the Chinese Army during World War II. At that time he held the rank of Major General in the Chinese Army, on loan from the United States. He was Deputy Commanding General of the 2nd Area Command during the period when its six armies of the 2nd Supreme Army Group drove the Japanese into the sea. For his work, he received the Bronze Star from General A. C. Wedemeyer.

A frequent visitor to Formosa, Colonel Pirnie makes this prediction:

"Mao Tse-tung will fail. All tyrants in Chinese history for more than 4,000 years have failed. When this great revolt [against Red rule on the mainland] takes place the great leader of the free world—the United States of America—must be prepared to assist logistically without use of our manpower to break the Red menace on the mainland and free the Chinese people. Our own security depends on it."

To show what the Chinese on Formosa have done to improve their economy and to prepare themselves militarily, Colonel Pirnie is showing films such as "This Is Taiwan (Formosa)" and "Red China Outlaw."

Colonel Pirnie is presently concerned that the same thing does not happen in the Congo as did in China. He spent 1942 and 1943 in the Congo engaged in a secret supply mission. He said the "invasion of Katanga by the United Nations, abetted by the United States and our State Department, [is] another of our greatest blunders."

Senator Young's Fears

From the Columbus [Ohio] Evening Dispatch

IN THE OPINION of Ohio's junior US Senator, Stephen M. Young, set forth in a major article in the current issue of *The Saturday Evening Post,* under the heading, "Danger on the Right," the "radical right" is an "even deadlier threat to our democratic traditions and institutions than are the American adherents to communism."

As might be expected in an article bent toward such a theme, Mr. Young mounts a frontal assault against the John Birch Society then calls the roll of everyone he chooses to label a hate monger and crackpot and lumps them all together.

How does the Senator so conveniently overlook the fact, recognized by Congress and by every American citizen willing to face up to reality, that Communists are the agents of the Soviet government in Moscow and are dedicated to overthrow the US government by force, if necessary?

How does Senator Young dismiss Khrushchev's threat that "we will bury you," meaning that by one means or another, he or his successors intend to see to it that the American form of government and the American way of life are overthrown?

The United States has suffered and communism has gained at the hands of the Rosenbergs, Greenglass, Fuchs and other Communist agents. Naivete in high places in our government's counsels enabled Castro to advance his revolution in Cuba and now he admits he has been a Communist for many years, pulling the wool over the eyes of policy makers in Washington supposedly alert to the defense of the Western Hemisphere and the Free World.

Coincidentally with publication of the article by Senator Young, another US Senator, Strom Thurmond of South Carolina, points out in a series of articles prepared for publication that Gus Hall, secretary general of the Communist Party, USA, some time ago issued a directive that all groups conducting anti-Communist educational activities, of whatever shade of responsibility, along with the military were to be smeared as "ultra-right" and "neo-Fascists."

We should have thought Senator Young would have studiously avoided aligning himself with the line promulgated by Gus Hall.

We should have thought, too, that he would have studiously guarded against taking as intolerant a view of the "radical right" as the self-styled liberals charge the "rightists" with taking toward the "left." But then we long have noted that the "liberals" quite often are quite selective and restrictive in the objects of their "liberalism."

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED